Vol. 14, No. 13 April 2, 1963

Automate or die. Automate or your automated competitors will drive you out of business; automate or the competing nations will drive this nation out of world markets and force it into a stagnant autarchy. But it is one of those bitter medicines that can itself half kill the patient in curing him.

The public is beginning to sense that there is something novel about the great strikes of the past couple of years, like the New York newspaper strike now well into its second hundred days. In every case, back of the routine claims and counter-claims on wages, hours, vacations and fringes is the shadow of automation or its equivalent: the standardized containers to be lifted from the docks by simple mechanisms to standardized resting places in the ships; the jet planes and diesel locomotives; the tapes and computer systems that are already (though not yet in New York) beginning to activate thirty typesetting machines at once at speeds far beyond any ITU hand operator.

When the automating takes place in a rapidly growing industry, there are few accompanying social troubles. The telephone companies have had to keep hiring by tens of thousands, not firing, as they have automated at their fantastic pace. (If telephone girls were still giving us those pleasant answers we nostalgically remember, there wouldn't be enough women in the country to handle the calls.) But when the industry is static or declining then the automation must cut deep, and hurt; and this is the case in most of the industries (except for the airlines) where the new-style strikes are taking place. A worker who rightly fears the new machines may cost him his job is not comforted by being told that the cost cutting will help the economy in general and in the end create more jobs—for somebody; nor is the union leader easily reconciled to the loss of dues-paying members. Nor is "retraining" financed by 500 million Washington dollars going to help very much: if business can make money by taking on trained workers, it will hire them if they exist and be glad to train them with its own funds if they don't. You can't increase the demand for skilled workers just by creating more skilled workers. There are going to continue to be troubles and strikes as we proceed with increasing automation.

If Mr. Kennedy wants to keep them to a minimum, he will try to promote an economic climate in which business, and especially new and venturesome business, can move around without strangling intervention, and make and keep a dollar or two of profit.

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BULLETIN

THE WEEK

□ "ROCKEFELLER COCKTAILS" have found their way onto some of New York's poshest menus, with the following note: "Recipe: Same old ingredients, just add 15% to price if Gov. Rockefeller's proposal to increase Alcoholic Beverage Taxes is passed." Opinion has it that things have reached a swizzling point.

□ ANTI-COMMUNISM WAS DEFEATED at the Costa Rica conference. The Latin leaders wanted strong action against Castro, but President Kennedy merely orated about "faith in freedom" and proposed a $200 million dose of national planning plus Alliance for Progress, along with something about the "social justice" economy. The President's performance in Costa Rica, combined with the simultaneous State Department announcement that any effort by Cuban exiles to bring freedom to Cuba is "irresponsible," amounts to the final stage of the policy of containment: that is, from now on, in the Western Hemisphere as well as elsewhere around the globe, Communism will contain us.

□ THEORISTS OF UNION "DEMOCRACY" are wondering how it is that 1.6% of the membership can impose an unpopular decision on the union—or on the country, for that matter. The Typographical Union has about 100,000 members. New York City's Local #6 has about 10,000. Of these, some 3,000 have been on strike since early December, depriving the city of daily newspapers. On March 17 the members voted on the final offer of the publishers, and turned it down, 1,621 to 1,557.

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■ SELECTIVE INDIGNATION WAS THE WORD in Justice William O. Douglas' fourth James Madison lecture on the Bill of Rights at NYU, featured in the latest Overseas Press Club *Bulletin*. Justice Douglas deplored "precautionary arrests," "ex-post-facto law-making," "suppression and persecution" of the press. He deplored them in, respectively, Pakistan, South Korea, (Menderes) Turkey—all authoritarian right-wing regimes. He did *not* deplore them in Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Red China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Mali, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, United Arab Republic, USSR, Yugoslavia—all authoritarian (or worse) left-wing regimes.

■ ALPHA 66 STRUCK AGAIN last week at a Soviet naval base on the Cuban coast—its fourth strike in six months—and the raiders got away without injury. Moscow Radio immediately charged "provocation" and the State Department, not far behind, condemned the action as "irresponsible." The Alpha group, which operates from non-U.S. territory, which has enlisted no American citizens, which doesn't ask the okay of the State Department in the liberation of its country, holds that these unexpected strikes not only tie down a large percentage of Castro's militia on the Cuban coast but are big morale boosters for underground and guerrilla forces in Castroland. This was the reasoning, come to think of it, for the commando strikes on Hitler's Fortress Europe during the Second World War.

■ FRANTIC SEARCH IN SOMALILAND as the government tries to break off relations with Britain over the Kenyan boundary dispute. The break has been delayed, Somali officials admit with Africandor, because Somali diplomats have lost their sole copy of a handbook on international diplomatic procedures.

ON THE LEFT

There is private speculation that New York area CP officials are worried about their investment in Rep. Wm. Fitts Ryan (D., N.Y.). Communist support amid Democratic intra-party squabbling helped swing the last election to Fitts Ryan. In view of this, and calculating his attachments to be more opportunistic than ideological, the powerful and strongly anti-Communist International Ladies Garment Workers Union has moved its support to Fitts Ryan, to facilitate his graceful disavowal of too-importunate admirers.

A small case of Liberalist totalism, that is, "economic expansion" as favored by the Americans for Democratic Action: ". . . increase expenditures for education, health, urban renewal and redevelopment, mass transit, water supply, recreation and the like . . ." Mr. David Cohen, a former National Chairman of the Students for Democratic Action, has lately been named the ADA's legislative representative (registered lobbyist) to promote "economic expansion," etc., in the Congress.

Sino-Soviet Mift: The *World Marxist Review,* source of all the current international gospel, apparently has halted publication of its Chinese edition—at least has omitted all reference to it for the first time. Meanwhile, Red China, North Korea and Albania are preparing a new retaliatory journal, *Voice of the International Workers' Movement.*

For his "Eye Opener" series, the UAW's Guy Nunn recently interviewed Negro poet and long-time fellow traveler Langston Hughes. The interview was carried by some nineteen radio stations and featured in *UAW Solidarity,* a monthly handout. Hughes' last eye-opening touch of fame was stirred through the recommendation of several of his poems by the National Council of Churches of Christ—one poem being a trashy demand that Christ move over and make way for Communism.

An article appearing in the current *Liberator,* "voice of the Afro-American protest movement in the U.S.," includes a photo of the author wearing, so help us, a Jomo Kenyatta sweatshirt.

On March 3, *People's World* reports, representatives of six peace groups met in San Francisco for discussions "on how best to influence U.S. peace and disarmament policies." Most of the delegates appeared to favor multilateral disarmament; some troubled to say they would refuse Communist support—one, at least, welcomed it.

A major reshaping of the history of the Mexican Revolution was initiated somewhere in the backwoods Left, has spread quietly through the more arcane journals, and has begun to appear in general circulation from divers and often unlikely sources, *e.g.*, historian Samuel Shapiro (lately of Michigan State University), and columnist Drew Pearson—to mitigate Cuba. Why worry about Castro, the line runs, when there is an undisturbing precedent for him in Mexican history. One journal even called General Lázaro Cárdenas (see "Abroad") "Mexico's greatest living statesman." Shapiro improved on that tribute by comparing Castro with abolitionist John Brown.

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■ FOCUS ON . . .

CALIFORNIA

The internal battle in the California GOP is now one key to the 1964 Republican Convention. California is the biggest state, and whoever controls its delegation carries a big stick. It is also a cross-section of the nation, and the GOP victor there will claim he can carry the day on a larger scale. Of all the major states only California has a GOP that isn't held firmly in hand. And so the battle.

The conflicting forces have rushed into this power vacuum with a zeal equal to the prize. GOP conservatives, fresh

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"Yoo hoo! I'm back."

from the victory of State Education Commissioner Rafferty, the conquest of the California Young Republican organization, and the near-victory in the GOP Assembly, are in battle trim.

The importance of the battle is attested by the ferocity of local press attacks against the conservatives, and also by the strange absence of most GOP national leaders. Practical politicians don't like to mix in fluid situations or take sides in controversies too early—especially when the stakes are so large.

NEWS MANAGEMENT BUGS

Two months ago there were stories about Russian bombers swinging over some parts of the South. The Administration denied the stories, but they persisted. Then came reports of Russian aircraft buzzing U.S. naval vessels. Last week it was officially admitted that a) two Russian sub-

PEOPLE

Not enhancing **Robert McNamara's** popularity with Republicans on the Hill, the proposal by Liberal Democratic Senator **William Proxmire** (Wis.) that McNamara run for Presidency in '64. Said Proxmire: McNamara realizes that "our Defense Department exists for one purpose—not to kill Russians or Chinese but to achieve peace in the world . . . that's the kind of man we should have for President." . . . Question: Why doesn't Ohio Gov. **John Rhodes**—elected in a pivotal industrialized state at same time as **George Romney, William Scranton**—figure in East Coast-based ballyhoo about Republican dark horses for '64? Answer: Rhodes ran as conservative; is making herculean efforts to cut back Ohio budget . . . Possibility: If **Barry Goldwater** decides to go for broke next year, a Goldwater man might well run for Arizona senatorial nomination—and stand down if Goldwater fails to get Presidential nomination. . . . Capital insiders say **Wilbur Mills** committee will report out some tax bill this year. . . . . Assistant FBI Director **William Sullivan** insists he was misquoted when *N.Y. Times* claimed he said [Bulletin, 12/25/62]: "The Far Right is every bit as subversive to the United States as the Far Left."

Rep. **William Cramer** (R., Fla.) has turned over to HUAC names of 73 Americans he says have gone to Cuba, via Mexico, in past year for training by Communists in espionage and sabotage. . . . Fallout from U.S. State Department charges that Communists have infiltrated Brazil could toss spanner in next week's scheduled meeting of Latin American Communists in Rio. It's likely that Brazil will make difficulties over visas for **Lázaro Cárdenas**, other Communist and Communist-lining leaders. . . . Brazil's top Communist, **Luis Carlos Prestes**, making rounds in recent months: Peiping, Prague, Moscow, Havana.

British parliamentarians suggesting **Harold Macmillan** may step down, make way for younger Conservative leader to change party image before election. They mention his son-in-law, Aviation Minister **Julian Amery**, as possible successor. . . . Leaders of German Christian Democratic party openly saying they hope when **Konrad Adenauer** resigns as Chancellor next fall he'll also relinquish chairmanship of CDU. . . . Dr. **Jahn**, Minority Leader of Social Democratic Party, now admits he did pass secret military material to *Der Spiegel* last winter. (The government crackdown on *Der Spiegel* backfired, caused resignation of Defense Minister **Strauss.**)

West Berlin activists who have set off number of bombs at Wall call themselves the **Peter Fechter** group, after young East Berliner who was left to bleed to death at Wall last year.

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sonic TU-16s had thrust deep into Alaska before U.S. interceptors (weapons silenced) even got near them, and b) four Russian Bears had made repeated passes over the carrier *Constellation*. This week, weighing all the denials and admissions, some people began wondering again about those rumors of planes over the South.

The Army's Special Warfare (guerrilla) School staged some war games in eastern Georgia. The Administration announced there would be "foreign observers." In response to questions, Secretary McNamara stated that the observers would not be Africans and wouldn't truly be observers: they were to be troops from Allied countries. In due time, as the games got going, Georgia citizens were asking questions about the African and Asian troops they had observed on manuevers. Were they UN troops transferred from Katanga to integrate Southern schools, or to train for intervention in Angola? Secretary McNamara then announced they weren't observers *or* Allied troops, but just plain troops joining in, from Liberia (scratch his earlier denial) and Sukarno's Indonesia. By that time Georgians had stopped listening.

Navy and Air Force chiefs believe the real reason for the barrage of publicity given to carrier overflights is to prepare the psychological ground for McNamara's next move in his campaign against manned air and space craft: the proposal to eliminate carriers as allegedly vulnerable and obsolescent.

TROUBLES FOR PORTUGAL

The barometer for Portugal in '63 reads: "Heavy weather, from all quarters." At a secret meeting in Paris last December a loose anti-Salazar front was formed among: 1) Gen. Humberto Delgado, the Portuguese exile who engineered the hijacking of the *Santa Maria* a year ago and is trying to bring together all opposition groups; 2) Alvaro Cunhal, Portuguese Communist boss, who agreed to go along with Delgado; 3) Dr. Agostinho Neto, head of one of several bickering free-Angola groups. They've all been offered the hospitality of Algeria by anti-colonialist, anti-Western Premier Ben Bella.

Already in operation: At Alma, about 45 miles from Algiers, a "military coordination bureau" for recruiting and training revolutionary forces directed against Angola; at Thysville, in the Congo, an advance base where Angolan rebels are getting post-graduate training by veteran FLN instructors in the techniques of infiltration, sabotage and terror; a supplementary base in post-Tshombe Katanga. It's an open secret that some of the arms of the United Nations forces in the Congo have found their way into the hands of Holden Roberto's men at Thysville; whether through black market channels or by open collusion with the rebels is less certain.

During the Afro-Asian get-together at Moshi, Tanganyika, secret discussions were held to plan the time schedule for the violent phases of the operations in southern Africa. It was tentatively decided to have the Angola-Mozambique campaign build toward a climactic phase early in 1964.

IN THE BACKGROUND

POPE JOHN AND ADZHUBEI

The unusual occasion that led to the meeting between the Pope and Khrushchev's son-in-law, the editor of *Izvestia,* Alexei Adzhubei, has been little remarked. Sixty journalists were invited to the Papal apartments to be present while ex-President Gronchi notified the Pope that he had been awarded the Balzan Peace Prize—one of a number of prizes established in memory of an Italian journalist. The international jury that named the Pope by a unanimous vote included four Soviet citizens. Accepting, the Pope spoke on the theme of "the perfect supra-national neutrality of the Church and of its visible head." He then

Capitol Bulletin

Dateline *Washington*

Cutting away Secretary McNamara's rhetoric and dubious statistics, the controversy over the TFX Navy-Air Force fighter can be reduced to one proposition: In order to have "commonality" of weapons, the New Frontier will—in the Washington Star's phrase—"deliberately take less than the best it can produce in weapons systems."

In the TFX case, other elements have been added. The contract for the new plane (which will eventually cost some $6.5 billion) was awarded to General Dynamics of Texas rather than to Boeing, which would have produced the plane in Republican Kansas. The General Dynamics plane is inferior, according to service specialists, to the Boeing plane. It must be, since it must meet Mr. McNamara's requirements for a plane which is at once usable from a carrier deck and as an Air Force fighter. It has a shorter range and can hold fewer weapons. But it has some degree of "commonality"—a concept which was to have been applied in the procurement of coffee cups, mattresses, and other items of "common use" in the services.

In order to decide in favor of the General Dynamics plane, Mr. McNamara had to ignore the findings of his beloved computers which showed that the Boeing plane would cost something like $400 million less and to conclude that Boeing's figures were "over-optimistic" and would end up $1 billion in excess of the Texas bid.

What the outcome of the TFX battle will be is hard to predict. To date it has shattered the McNamara "image" on Capitol Hill and turned against him many Democratic

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dismissed all present except Adzhubei and his black-veiled wife, Mara, who remained in private audience for eighteen minutes.

European opinion is convinced that Pope John seeks a modus vivendi with the Kremlin, and that Khrushchev is in some measure responding. Observers cite the presence of Russian Orthodox churchmen at the Ecumenical Council; release by Moscow of the long-imprisoned Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Sklupin; public praise of the Pope's peace efforts by Khrushchev. A key concern is Cardinal Mindszenty, in sanctuary in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest since the 1956 revolt, for whom the Vatican has planned a conspicuous post in Rome.

A possible snag: friends of Cardinal Mindszenty state that he does not wish to leave Hungary, no matter what conditions are agreed upon, because he feels it will seem a desertion of his flock.

SHADOW OVER LAOS

The Laos agreement negotiated by Averell Harriman provided that all foreign troops were to leave by October of last year. The International Control Commission has submitted a formal report that they're gone.

The facts: the investigation team visited one town only —Ban Long Lou in Sam Neua province. North Vietnam troops moved out just before the team arrived.

More facts: Thousands of Chinese coolies are working on a road from China's Yunnan province through Laos via Nam Tha and Phong Saly to Thailand. Historical note: A strenuous Chinese road-building stint enabled the Chinese Communists to provide the Vietminh with the heavy artillery that destroyed Dienbienphu and lost North Vietnam to the West. Another road-building operation preceded Peiping's attack on Tibet; still a third, its attack last autumn on India.

and Republican legislators who were once in his thrall. Mr. McNamara's "Congress be damned" attitude, and his insistence that he is the smartest man in Washington so why bother him with all this TFX piffle, have antagonized many. But nothing can be done about the systematic erosion of U.S. military power by the New Frontier except the defeat of President Kennedy in 1964—at a time when the U.S. will be committed to programs which will put us behind the Soviet Union and take years to reverse.

This is the real significance of the TFX controversy. In the past, defense decisions were made in the give-and-take of debate between the military and the civilian heads of the Pentagon. Today, the military has been relegated to running messages. As a result, the orderly progress of U.S. defense along carefully-planned strategic lines has ended. Mr. McNamara and his "whiz kids" have already wasted billions of dollars by capriciously starting and stopping programs. The fact remains that the United States is hastily destroying military power built up carefully over the years by brilliant military men in conjunction with well-informed civilians.

The same kind of arrogance and obstinacy is discernible in foreign policy. Mr. Kennedy has vowed that the U.S. will not intervene in Cuba. He has decided that no effective steps be taken to overthrow the Castro regime. And that is that. His excuse for not acting has always been that the U.S. could not and should not impose its will on the other American states. But representatives of the Organization of American States have been pleading with Secretary of State Dean Rusk to call for the implementation of the Rio Pact, of which Cuba is a signatory. Under the terms of this treaty, the OAS can intervene even before there is an armed attack by one member against the other. The export of subversion and sabotage are sufficient—and Castro's role in the dynamiting of Venezuelan oil installations in Maracaibo would be grounds for an all-American assault on Cuba.

The White House, however, has flatly barred the invoking of the Rio Pact. It also flatly "ordered" other OAS members last December not to call for any ultimatum on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the island. Several OAS members had offered to initiate such an ultimatum, but they were slapped down.

Note for those who argue of U.S. deficits that "we owe it to ourselves": since the early fifties, the U.S. gold reserve has dropped from $24.5 billion to $15.8 billion—and is still falling. Foreign-held short-term dollar credits, redeemable in gold, total $24 billion. As a result the United States Treasury continues to ransack Europe looking for money it can borrow.

Note for federal-aid-to-educationists: Whenever federal aid to education is debated, Mississippi is held up as the horrible example. The rest of the country must do or die to bring education to this benighted area which will not spend its own money on bringing up its young. Well, the National Education Association, which beats the drums night and day for a federalized educational system, has given the show away. In a tabulation ranking the states, it notes that Mississippi spends 34.2% of all its state and local income on public education. What states spend the smallest percentage? New York and Massachusetts.

What about per capita expenditures for state institutions of higher education? Mississippi spends $21.49—but New York only spends $10.77, and Massachusetts, fiftieth in a field of 50, spends $5.88. And what states lead in percent of increase in current expenditures per pupil? Arkansas with 145% and Mississippi with 128%. New York is thirteenth, Mr. Kennedy's Massachusetts is twenty-sixth.

Quincy

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At Home

The month of March found the National Council of Churches, indefatigable purveyor of Liberal confusions, playing host to a delegation of churchmen from the Soviet Union.

Representing some six churches in the USSR, the visitors were taken on a tour of the United States, including stopovers at Denver, Boston, New York, Indianapolis and other outposts of capitalist exploitation. They were warmly greeted by American prelates who professed to see in the visit a step forward in the Cold War.

The Soviet visitors were not received with uniform cordiality. There were a few soreheads—some conservative clergymen and militant anti-Communists—who found their presence highly unsettling.

The unsettling thing about the visit was not the presence of the Russians so much as it was the style of argument used to justify that presence. Archbishop Nikodim and his colleagues can, of themselves, do little harm to the United States. But our own civic and moral leaders, when they lead us into misconception, can do a great deal of harm indeed.

Presbyterian mogul Eugene Carson Blake, for example, was quoted in defense of the visit as saying: "The difference between these men and other Russian delegations is that these men, like ourselves, are practicing Christians." A National Council statement in behalf of swapping clergymen holds that "our open society has nothing to fear and much to gain by all kinds of exchange programs." Embarrassing facts about the Russian visitors, such as their silence about the evil of Communism (which one would think offensive to "practicing Christians"), have been swept under the rug. Nikodim and friends, it is alleged, have nothing to say in criticism of the Communist police state because they are devotees of "quietism"—the philosophy which holds that the church should not take stands on social or political questions.

There is, after all, a considerable record available on the role of the Orthodox Church in Russia, a record establishing that the church is controlled by the state, and therefore cannot practise Christianity in any signficant sense, or even engage in "quietism." It can no more do any of these things than can any other agency of the Soviet government.

Here, for example, is the 1956 testimony of former Soviet agent Yuri Rastvorov, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

"As you know, the church in the Soviet Union is not independent as, at the present time, the Soviet Government is trying to prove. It is completely dependent on the state, and the state conducts all the activities of the church in the Soviet Union."

Rastvorov went on to say that when the Russian Orthodox Church set about to organize seminaries, Soviet secret police agents "were sent to the seminaries" as students: "They sent officers, counterintelligence officers to these seminaries, and later they became bishops in many churches in the Soviet Union."

Concerning one high official of the Russian Church, Metropolitan Nikolai, another former Soviet agent gave testimony confirming Rastvorov's. Peter Deriabin, one-time secret police operative, testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1959 about Soviet exploitation of "cultural exchange" programs:

"Another example was in 1956, when the Soviet religious delegation was here from the Soviet Orthodox Church. The chief of that was Archbishop Nikolai. He is not a member of the KGB [Soviet secret police], but he has been an agent of the KGB since World War II, who gives information to KGB. KGB is asking him and he is giving information. He is actually an agent."

Nikolai had visited America in 1956, also at the invitation of the National Council of Churches. At that time, reviewing Nikolai's recorded pronouncements on subjects relevant to the Cold War, Herbert Philbrick concluded that "Nikolai has carried on an unrelenting barrage of invective against the United States." Obviously, Nikolai's silence on the evils of Communism had very little to do with "quietism." The corresponding silence of this year's visitors seems equally devoid of religious motivation. Archbishop Nikodim can wax quite eloquent on the alleged virtues of the Soviet system, while remaining inscrutable about its drawbacks. "We come to you from a socialist state," he is quoted, "where our people are creating a new, dynamic society."

Similar unquietistic utterances have issued from the Russian Orthodox Church over the years—utterances which provide an intriguing contrast to Dr. Blake's assurance. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, chaplain of the United States Senate, presented a collection of these in the *Washington Star* two years ago. Some sample quotations, culled by Dr. Harris from Russian Orthodox Church publications:

"The noble and truly human aim of the Soviet regime we sincerely recognize as established by God and expressing the will of the people."

"The Russian Orthodox Church condemned . . . the inhuman annihilation of the peaceful population of Korea by the American air forces who . . . resorted to the use of bacteriological weapons."

"Capitalistic America, the transatlantic octopus, is trying to fasten its greedy tentacles around the whole globe. . . ."

None of this, needless to say, suggests "quietism." Even less does it suggest that our Russian visitors are "practicing Christians." It does suggest, however, that Dr. Blake and his friends at the National Council could themselves use a little practice—in the art of distinguishing Christians from Soviet agents.

M. Stanton Evans

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Abroad

MEXICO, D.F. — CARDENAS RIDING HIGH

The next general election will take place in July 1964, but already the campaign winds are blowing strong. Under Mexico's de facto one-party system, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional has never come close to losing an election for forty years, but bitter internal struggles often take place among its factions and personalities. The aggravating factor this time is ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas, who, with Moscow's eager and massive support, is mobilizing the left of the Left on numerous fronts. He is identified with the newly formed Independent Farmers' Center, which is stirring up the peasants, and the National Freedom Movement, long openly tied to Moscow. In speeches, letters to the press and printed propaganda, Gen. Cárdenas assails the Yanquis, praises Castro, repeats the Kremlin's current slogans, especially attacks anti-Communists, and turns "defense of the sovereignty and independence of Mexico" into a phrase meaning: "Mexico, Go Castro!" His political line is being skilfully furthered by the Kremlin's most sophisticated (and elegantly disguised) journalistic operation in Latin America: the weekly illustrated *Siempre,* which is being subsidized at a rate of $50,000 a month.

AUCKLAND — SUKARNO'S SHADOW

Sir Leslie Munro, long a principal figure in New Zealand's foreign service as ambassador and UN chief delegate, has resigned from his present post as Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists. In a statement before leaving Geneva, he declared his intention to return home "to enter public life," and the reason he gave expressed a rising concern of many of his countrymen: "It is the duty of a man with such experience as I have to offer to help. The problems of New Zealand are not purely economic because she is confronted as well by the expansionism of Indonesia. It is true that the ambitions of Indonesia affect Australia immediately more than they do New Zealand, but in the long run my country too is involved."

NAIROBI — UHURU AND TROUBLE AHEAD

Under an agreement negotiated by Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, and the Kenya Council of Ministers, Kenya will attain self-government through elections to be held May 18-26. The governmental bodies will of course be black, in the seven provinces and in the national legislature. Full independence is expected to follow early in 1964. Besides the Mau Mau legacy, unresolved disputes between centralists and federationists, the dark prospects of the White Highlands, and ferocious inter-tribal antipathies, Kenya faces two acute and immediate problems: the determination of the Somalis, who are the majority in the northeastern area (now established as the North Frontier District), to secede and fuse with their fellow tribesmen in Somalia to the north —a determination fully backed by Somalia, which threatens war, but adamantly opposed by Ethiopia, which also threatens war; and the bloody conflict between the Arabs of the coastal strip of Zanzibar, who, for the sake of their skins, want to keep some sort of special status under British protection, and Kenya's African leaders, who insist that Zanzibar and its inhabitants will have to knuckle under.

GENEVA — NUCLEAR NEUTRALITY

The present population of Switzerland is approximately 5,300,000. Nuclear shelters already built or under construction provide for 1,500,000 persons. The legislature has just voted a program to provide additional shelters for 2,500,000, covering in all some 80% of the people.

BERLIN — RECESS EXTENDED

For a number of months the pressure has been off of the Berlin and indeed the entire German problem. Presumably this has been the result, in part, of the absorption of the players' energies by Cuba, China, de Gaulle and the Near East. But another factor seems to be a recognition by all parties concerned that no one has the least idea what to do about Berlin and Germany; and that therefore the best solution is to do nothing. The Canadian, Roy Thompson, now Britain's largest publisher, reported after a recent trip to Moscow that Khrushchev had told him it was plainly impossible to reunite Germany because the West won't accept a Communist Germany and the Soviet Union won't accept a capitalist Germany; so things will just have to go along more or less as is. The Russians want to hold bilateral Russo-American talks on Berlin; and these are slated to begin soon, though in a low-keyed mode, probably in Washington. Some sort of formula for shifting to a "UN presence," possibly including Anglo-American-French troops wearing blue helmets, will be mulled over.

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The BUSINESS Bulletin

By Donald I. Rogers

The justifiable anxiety that has plagued business leaders since the year's beginning has had unreasonable repercussions in Wall Street, bringing recurring periods of depression among investors, like a persistent virus struggling to prolong its effectiveness.

The stock market has periodically displayed mighty strength and prices have surged and bounded under great enthusiastic spurts of buying. But something has always happened to the buying ardor, and as though awakening to a cold, bleak dawn after a slightly sinful party, investors have seemed to slink away from the scene regretful of their conduct.

Even the most consistently conservative analysts agree, however, that there is nothing wrong with the stock market. Numerous bargains abound, they say. Earnings prospects are bright for most industries. The potential for good dividends remains promising.

The professionals talk with bullishness.

The public reacts with bearishness.

In response, the market seesaws along—but on an ever-rising level.

The chartlines going back to the first of the year show a steady upward climb, marred, of course, by the abrupt valleys caused by the waves of profit-taking and recurrent pessimism.

But the trend is up, and the market shows every indication of becoming a young bull.

All that is required, many analysts believe, is a restoration of investor confidence, a recognition of the fact that contrary to the usual case, the problems facing businessmen this time will have no immediate effect on the market value of their securities.

The growing joblessness in America is worrying business leaders. It has reached 6.1% of the work force. When a city or a county reaches 5% unemployment it is decreed a "depressed area," and emergency measures are invoked. The Administration is encouraging headlines about the unemployment problem in the hope it will expedite passage of some emergency measures being planned. These worry some business leaders. In addition to the standard New Frontier devices such as increased appropriations for vocational training in local schools, an increase in the job-retraining and worker-relocation program, greater emphasis on the Youth Conservation Corps (reincarnation of the depression-born CCC), there is under consideration a system of penalties for businessmen who work their employees overtime. The purpose of this, it is explained, is to create more jobs. One form the "penalty" might take is legislation which would make it mandatory to pay double time for any overtime work.

Nevertheless, when I attended a meeting of the Investment Bankers Association of America at the Wharton School in Philadelphia a few days ago, I came away with my ears ringing with enthusiastic predictions for the economy.

This is unusual, for the investment bankers, the fellows who lend the enormous sums to corporations for expansion, and then sell their stocks or bonds to the public, are not given to showing their enthusiasm or displaying much exuberance. By and large they are a tight-lipped bunch.

Almost every banker or broker I talked to said business is hesitant about spending money now because of the tax law, but that an enormous amount of new capital is ready for re-investment, and that a consumer's buying spree seems to be shaping up. They look for a booming economy, and a higher—considerably higher—stock market.

Briefs

Automobile manufacturers, after struggling with the issue of the standard-car-versus-the-sports car for eight years, and despite record earnings last year and record predictions for this, are planning to enlarge the basic compact cars for 1964 models. Too many *un*compact people.

After receiving the most flattering attention they have enjoyed since the 1920s, railroad stocks are scheduled to receive even more, as good earnings are reported and more analysts predict long range financial stability. Look also for attention to be focused on companies providing rail equipment.

Not only market researchers but the mortgage departments of banks, the home developers and the home furnishings industries are worrying because the lumber industry is somewhat depressed. Mill shipments and new orders both are running below the corresponding 1962 volumes. Heavy imports from Canada are alleged by industry leaders to be the main cause of the stagnation.

Getty Oil, whose eponym is reputed to be the richest American, has declared a dividend of 10¢ a share, the first payment of a cash dividend since 1947. As we went to press, it was receiving sufficient attention to push its price higher in several trading sessions. Getty is the holding company of Mission Corp., Mission Development, Tidewater and Skelly, and also owns profitable interests in the Middle East.

Steel stocks are receiving the attention of customers' men again, despite the poor earnings records last year. Orders are running consistently higher, with considerable influence being exercised by the prosperity-flushed automobile companies.

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